## Message Text

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CONFIDENTIAL STATE 206245

FOLLOWING SENTACTION ISLAMABAD FROM SECSTATE OCT 17 REPEATED GENEVA OCT 18

QUOTE

CONFIDENTIAL STATE 206245

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: SNAR, PK

SUBJECT: NARCOTICS: SETTLED AREA POPPY BAN

REF: A) ISLAMABAD 8846; B) ISLAMABAD 8719; C) ISLAMABAD 8938

1. WE ARE GREATLY ENCOURAGED THAT GOP IS PREPARED FOR SERIOUS DISCUSSIONS OF THIS SUBJECT AND APPRECIATE MISSION INITIATIVE. IF YOU CAN NEGOTIATE AN IMMEDIATE BAN ON ALL OPIUM PRODUCTION IN THE SETTLED AREAS AS THE FIRST STAGE OF A COMMITMENT TO BAN OPIUM PRODUCTION IN THE MERGED AND TRIBAL AREAS AS WELL, WE ARE PREPARED TO PROVIDE DOLS 2 MILLION GRANT TO THE GOP TO FINANCE PROJECTS RELATED TO THIS FIRST STAGE. ONLY IN THE EVENT THAT THE COUNTRY TEAM IS CONFIDENT FROM RESULTS OF INITIAL DISCUSSIONS THAT AN IMMEDIATE BAN IS OBTAINABLE WITH ADDITIONAL FINANCING FROM US, YOU ARE AUTHORIZED TO GO UP TO BUT NOT EXCEED DOLS 4 MILLION. GOP SHOULD UNDERSTAND THAT THIS GRANT WOULD BE IN LIEU OF USG ASSISTANCE TO ANY RURAL UPLIFT PROJECTS WHICH MISSION MAY CONFIDENTIAL

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ALREADY DISCUSSED IN THE CONTEXT OF CROP SUBSTITUTION.

2. WE THINK THERE ARE GOOD REASONS, TECHNICAL AS WELL AS POLITICAL, FOR SEEKING GOP UNDERTAKING TO ELIMINATE ALL

PRODUCTION IN SETTLED AREAS DURING THE PLANTING SEASON BEGINNING THIS MONTH. IMMEDIATE BAN WOULD SIMPLIFY CONTROL PROCEDURES FOR GOP AND ALLOW CONCENTRATION OF LIMITED ENFORCEMENT RESOURCES NOW AVAILABLE ON TRAFFICKING FROM MERGED AND TRIBAL AREAS. PHASED BAN WOULD REQUIRE GOP TO DEVOTE MUCH EFFORT TO MEASURING FIELDS AFTER LICENSES ISSUED TO ENSURE CONFORMANCE WITH ACREAGE PERMITTED. FOLLOW-UP VISITS TO ESTIMATE ACTUAL PRODUCTION YIELDS WOULD BE NECESSARY, AGAINST WHICH FARMER DELIVERIES WOULD THEN BE CHECKED. RELATIVELY SMALL PRODUCTION AT 1971-72 LEVEL OF 7-8 TONS WOULD HARDLY WARRANT SUCH A LARGE-SCALE ENFORCEMENT EFFORT. IF ORAKZAI'S PRIMARY REASON FOR TWO-STEP REDUCTION IS TO INSURE LICIT DOMESTIC SUPPLY, YOU MIGHT SUGGEST THAT VIGOROUS ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM AGAINST TRAFFICKERS SHOULD RESULT IN SUFFICIENT SEIZURES TO MEET LICIT DEMAND, ESPECIALLY DURING FIRST YEAR OF PROGRAM.

- 3. ABOVE PROPOSAL IS BEING MADE WITH FULL KNOWLEDGE THAT THE GOP HAS ALREADY ISSUED SOME LICENSES FOR PRODUCTION THIS FALL. ALTHOUGH THE USG DOES NOT WISH TO BECOME ASSOCIATED IN ANY WAY WITH DIRECT FARMER COMPENSATION, IF THE GOP RAISES THE ISSUE, WE SEE AT LEAST TWO WAYS THEY COULD HANDLE THE PROBLEM. COMPENSATION COULD BE OFFERED IN THE FORM OF OTHER CROP SEEDS AND FERTILIZER UPON VERIFICATION OF THE DESTRUCTION OF POPPIES ALREADY PLANTED. ANOTHER POSSIBILITY WOULD BE TO COMPENSATE FARMERS ON THE BASIS OF ESTIMATED YIELDS ONE TO TWO MONTHS PRIOR TO HARVEST AT THE TIME OF ON-SITE INSPECTION AND DESTRUCTION OF FIELDS. YOU MAY WISH TO POINT OUT THAT COMPENSATION TO FARMERS PRODUCING ONLY EIGHT TONS OF LICIT OPIUM WOULD VERY LIKELY BE OFFSET BY THE DECREASED COSTS OF ENFORCING A SIMPLE, ALL-OUT BAN.
- 4. TOTAL BAN IN SETTLED AREAS, ESPECIALLY IF COUPLED WITH A PUBLIC COMMITMENT TO EXTENDING BAN TO MERGED AND TRIBAL AREAS, WOULD HAVE GREATER IMPACT ON U.S. OPINION CONFIDENTIAL

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AND IN AFGHANISTAN, IRAN, INDIA AND TURKEY, WHERE WE ARE ENGAGED IN CONTINUING DIALOGUES ON NARCOTICS CONTROL WITH HOST GOVERNMENT.

5. WITH THESE CONSIDERATIONS IN MIND, WE URGE MISSION IN NEGOTIATIONS TO USE DOLLAR RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO PRESS FOR FULL BAN THIS YEAR. WE WISH TO LEAVE TACTICS TO MISSION, BUT SUGGEST THAT PUTTING PROPOSAL IN PARAGRAPH 6D OF REF A OPENLY TO PAKS MIGHT CAUSE PROBLEMS. UPPER FIGURE WILL INEVITABLY BE LODGED IN PAK NEGOTIATOR'S HEAD AS PRICE OF BAN. WE THINK NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD PROCEED ON BASIS OF WHAT IS LOGISTICALLY AND POLITICALLY ACHIEVABLE, WHILE INDICATING THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO

PROVIDE SOMEWHAT MORE GENEROUS SUPPORT FOR A FULL BAN IN SETTLED AREAS THIS SEASON IN RECOGNITION OF THE DIFFICULTY THIS WOULD ENTAIL FOR GOP. IF THIS AGREEMENT UNOBTAINABLE, PLEASE PROVIDE GOP RATIONALE.

## 6. USG GRANT WOULD BE SUBJECT TO FOLLOWING CONDITIONS:

A) WE AGREE THAT BEST CHECK ON GOP PERFORMANCE WOULD BE OBSERVATIONS OF SUCCESS IN ELIMINATING CULTIVATION. WE ALSO CONCUR IN LEAVING TO GOP DECISION ON MANNER AND LEVEL OF ASSISTANCE TO FARMERS. WE WOULD, HOWEVER, REQUIRE SOME MORE DETAILED AUDIT OF HOW FUNDS ARE SPENT. FUNDS COULD BE DISBURSED ON PRESENTATION OF GOP PLANNED PROJECTS OF AN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT NATURE WHICH WOULD BE CARRIED OUT BY THE GOP. WE WOULD NOT INSIST THAT DISBURSEMENT BE MADE AGAINST COMMODITIES IMPORTED FROM US. SHOULD GOP FAIL TO USE ENTIRE AMOUNT ALLOCATED IN FY 74, AMOUNT REMAINING COULD BE CARRIED OVER INTO SUBSEQUENT YEAR.

B) WE COULD NOT CONCUR IN FUNDS FROM RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT BEING ASSOCIATED WITH RUPEE FUNDING FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT PROJECT. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE AN ENFORCEMENT EFFORT IN ANY FIELD FUNDED ENTIRELY FROM USG ASSISTANCE WOULD BE A NET LIABILITY TO US/PAK RELATIONS. ALSO, WE QUESTION WHETHER RUPEE COSTS IN FY 74 WILL BE AS HIGH AS ESTIMATED BY ORAKZAI, NOT ONLY BECAUSE MUCH OF FY 74 ALREADY PAST, BUT BECAUSE MOST FIU PERSONNEL INVOLVED WILL CONTINUE ON ROSTERS OF THEIR PARENT AGENCIES. SHOULD CONFIDENTIAL

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RUPEE COSTS BECOME REAL STUMBLING BLOCK TO AGREEMENT, PLEASE ADVISE AND WE WILL CONSIDER AS A SEPARATE ISSUE.

- C) WHILE USG WOULD BE CONTRIBUTING TO FUNDING RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN SETTLED AREAS ONLY IN FY 74, AND PERHAPS, WITH CARRY-OVER, FY 75, THIS IS ONLY FIRST STP IN OVERALL PROJECT WHICH WILL CONTINUE FOR SEVERAL YEARS BEFORE PRODUCTION IS ELIMINATED IN MERGED AND TRIBAL AREAS. GOP SHOULD THEREFORE UNDERTAKE PLANNING FOR THESE AREAS IN SUCH A MANNER THAT IT WOULD BE IN POSITION TO SEEK DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FROM IBRD AND OTHER SOURCES AS PART OF OVERALL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM. THIS WOULD NOT RULE OUT USG BILATERAL ASSISTANCE IN THESE AREAS. HOWEVER, WE COULD MAKE NO SPECIFIC COMMITMENT PENDING FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF GOP INTENTION AND ITS SUCCESS IN IMPLEMENTING BAN IN SETTLED AREAS AND OVERALL LAW ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM.
- 7. GUIDANCE ABOVE CONCENTRATES ON SETTLED AREAS AS WE BELIEVE PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO REACHING AGREEMENT IN AREA WHERE ENFORCEMENT CAPABILITY NOW EXISTS TO SUPPORT RURAL DEVELOPMENT INCENTIVE. WE ALSO CONTINUE TO SEEK GOP COMMITMENT TO A SPECIFIC SCHEDULE FOR IMPLEMENTING

A PRODUCTION BAN AND CROP SUBSTITUTION PROGRAM IN MERGED AND TRIBAL AREAS. YOU SHOULD INCLUDE IN LANGUAGE OF SETTLED AREA AGREEMENT A SPECIFIC GOP UNDERTAKING IN THIS REGARD. FURTHER, IT APPEARS FROM ORAKZAI'S CONVERSATIONS WITH NWFP OFFICIALS REPORTED REF C THAT HIS INTENTION WILL BECOME PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE IN NEAR FUTURE. AS NOTED IN PARA 4 ABOVE, A FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT WOULD BE MOST USEFUL INTERNATIONALLY TO BOTH GOP AND USG. SUGGEST THAT WHEN OPPORTUNITY ARISES IN NEGOTIATING BASIC AGREEMENT ON SETTLED AREAS YOU AGAIN URGE ORAKZAI AND OTHER GOP OFFICIALS TO MAKE GOP COMMITMENT PUBLIC.

8. FETAILED GUIDANCE ON THE FORM ANY POSSIBLE AGREEMENT SHOULD TAKE WILL FOLLOW SHORTLY. KISSINGER UNQUOTE KISSINGER

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